UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

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Francis Neilson Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

Salmon O. Levinson's Proposed Adjustment of the International Fiscal Problem

"Prisoners of the Lord"—In China

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Report of the Chicago Meeting of the National Federation of Religious Liberals

By FRANK H. BURT

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John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**
Curtis W. Reese **Louis L. Mann**

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME C MONDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1927 NUMBER 14

THE IMMORTAL HOPE

It is impossible to see what lies beyond our vision as we face the gate of death. Is it reality or is it nothing? . . . The possibilities of the universe transcend our negations. What overwhelming significance shines out of this immense vocation of life as we have known it at our best? Intense, intellectual, majestic, triumphant to the last, the keynote of love, clear and true, has made all the way bright with hope, can we suppose that the outcome is nothing? We have had infinite splendor of light, must the light be extinguished? We have seen the work of stupendous intelligence, has it used up its resources? We have felt infinite love, does now nothing infinite remain?. . . .Faith has led all the way, and step by step always proved rational. The world has continually responded to our confidence in its reality. The story has been the Victorious Goodness. . . .

I say it is harder to doubt here than it is to follow and believe. Faith, hope, love have proved the message of life. Let us fear not as we follow the message. This is my outlook as I wait for what lies beyond. The response of the world which has never yet disappointed our questions constantly sweeps our minds on to expect light, truth, beauty, goodness facing and encompassing us as its children. We cannot think at all and not think in the terms of eternity. So it seems to me.

—Charles F. Dole, in My Eighty Years.

Charles F. Dole, dead on November 27th last, found his assurance of immortality in the "victorious goodness" of the world. We find it, at this moment at least, in the "victorious goodness" of human life. All his days Dr. Dole preached the message of the divine Good Will, and all his days he lived this divine Good Will within his soul. This does not mean that, either in thought or action, he was a flabby sentimentalist. Dr. Dole came from a Puritan ancestry as stern and strong as the New England hills, upon the slopes of which he passed his boyhood. In youth and manhood he proved himself a hard-headed Yankee, independent, even "sot" in his opinions, unbending as granite in his conduct, going always his own free way in politics, religion, and social life. But deep within him was that mystic experience of the divine which completes and glorifies the native Puritan. This took in Dr. Dole the form of conscience bound as though by the gravitation of the stars to pursue righteousness and practice goodness. "I can scarcely remember a time," he writes in his autobiography, just published, "when righteousness of conduct—that is, an ideal of duty, obligation, faithfulness, responsibility to do my share in whatever had to be done—was not in my mind." The result was that rarest of combinations—a bold, free-thinking, rigorously conscientious non-conformist, who was at the same time tolerant, sympathetic, tender-hearted, companionable and forever kind. The supreme test of his life came during the Great War, when his pacifist principles bound him fast to utter opposition to the conflict. His attitude cost him comfort, security, happy friendships, precious reputation, but he never wavered either in his stern fidelity to conviction or in his loving kindness toward those who differed with him. To every question as to the war, he brought his exalted standard of Good Will; and, because this is so rare in such degree as he exemplified, he showed himself a saint and hero to his generation. Of UNITY he was one of the oldest friends and most devoted servants. Our readers will recall with gratitude his contributions to our pages. We mourn his loss as that of one respected, honored, and beloved.

The hard-headed, hard-hearted, hard-boiled statesman has his uses, and not infrequently fulfills them handsomely. Austen Chamberlain gave a perfect example of his high function in a speech in the English House of Commons on November 24th last, when he paid his respects to the sincere, well-meaning and rather innocent folk who think they have found a formula of peace in the attempt of the so-called Geneva Protocol to define an "aggressor nation" in the event of war. It is impossible to define and isolate such an "aggressor," said Sir Austen. Apply the formula, he might have added, to the World War and see where we come out! Quoting a speech of Signor Scialojia in the League Assembly, which we must have missed at the time of its utterance, Sir Austen declared (and he ought to know!) that any aggressor nation could, by clever diplomacy, make itself appear to be the innocent party in a quarrel leading to war. All such a nation has got to do is to keep itself strictly within its legal rights, and then by pressures, aggravations, attacks innumerable and easy in the case of a large nation dealing with a small nation, so maneuver the situation as to force the unoffending nation to take action and thus become the aggressor. Chamberlain registered it as his belief that if Great Britain pledged herself to such an agreement as that projected in the Protocol, she might well find herself forced to defend the actually guilty nation to a quarrel. Assuredly the British Foreign Secretary is right. If there is anything sillier and at the same time more dangerous than this "aggres-

sor nation" business, we for one don't happen to know what it may be. We say this with feeling, almost with passion, for we ourselves were ensnared by the enticements of the Protocol business, and therefore know at first hand the muddy thinking and empty sentimentality from which, fortunately, we escaped in time. One thing only is needed to be kept in mind in this discussion, and that is that there *is* no such thing as an "aggressor nation" in any war. Every nation in the eyes of its own people is innocent, is defending itself against attack, is fighting for civilization and the right—and *that's what makes war!* Strike not at aggression but at *war itself*, and you get somewhere.

To those who can read the signs in China, it is obvious that the Chinese Revolution has temporarily at least come to a halt. It has been ruined, as the late Gilbert Reid warned and as Anna Louise Strong stated in these columns, by the rivalries of its military chieftains. Whereas nine months ago it seemed certain that the united Southern armies would capture Peking before the end of the summer, these armies are now either idle, or scattered, or fighting one another in the Yangtse valley. It is a lamentable outcome, highly satisfying to English, French, Japanese and American exploiters who were in such terror and despair when Shanghai fell. Thus militarism once again, as so often before, undoes the very good that it would serve! Yet in China perhaps, as nowhere else, just this result was to be expected. For China is not a modern nation, politically speaking. Its cyclical period, to use the Spenglerian terminology, is feudalism, corresponding to the earlier Middle Ages of European history. As military chieftains—dukes, barons, princes, and the rest—ran riot in Europe, so exactly such lordly and brutal personages are now running riot in China. It is only to be hoped that China may foreshorten the period of development out of this condition of chaos, avoiding the era of nationalism altogether, and thus coming at once to the political and economic democracy which is its ultimate destiny. In promise of this are the workers' and peasants' organizations which were the center of Dr. Sun Yat Sen's original Cantonese movement, and which are now scattered through a large part of the entire nation. It is estimated, says Dr. Harry F. Ward, in a recent bulletin issued on behalf of the American Committee for Justice to China, that "there are today nearly ten million members of the peasant organizations which have sprung up within the year." This is the most important result of the Chinese Revolution to date. Indeed, this *is* the Revolution! Temporarily submerged beneath the tortuous flood of warring militarists and their retainers, these organized laborers and peasants represent "the backbone of the new society." Whatever the delays and discouragements now, the steady glacial drift of social evolution will do its work, and the revolution thus come surely to its own. For the pacifist it is comforting to have this new and impressive evidence that militarism remains what it has always been—the foe of progress!

Canards about Soviet Russia never cease. If we live to be a hundred years old, we doubt not we shall still be reading yarns about the horrors in that country. And these yarns will undoubtedly be manufactured as deliberately and wickedly then as they are now. Look at the latest lie, just exposed in the columns of *Foreign Affairs* (London). It seems that early in August last there appeared in a Russian newspaper, *Vozrozhdenie*, published in Paris, an appeal from Russia addressed "To the Writers of the World." This appeal, widely copied in the press of England and America as unquestionably genuine, described the wretchedness of the Russian writers who are living in Russia under the Bolshevik regime. A peculiar reference in the document to the famous French author and pacifist, Duhamel, aroused suspicion in the minds of friends of Duhamel, and an investigation at last revealed that the appeal had not come out of Russia at all. On the contrary, it had been artfully concocted in a Central European newspaper office. In other words, it was a forgery, just as the famous Zinovieff letter, which figured so conspicuously in the last English electoral campaign, was a forgery—just as the more recent Droushilovsky documents were a forgery. The moral is obvious! Believe nothing unfavorable to Russia unless you know beyond all question its source of origin. Accept no document, however apparently well attested, unless its authenticity is indubitable. The world has been fooled and fooled and fooled again in this matter, until it would seem that its capacity for being fooled were exhausted. But the liars and forgers are still on the job, and one clever dodge is exposed only to give way to another still more clever. The theory of these unscrupulous enemies of the Soviets is simple. They assume that each new lie will deceive enough people, and be long enough believed, to make its contrivance worth while. And they are right! No correction ever travels as fast or as far as the original deception. It is a great game!

The Roumanian comic opera moves on apace! Carol, sick of women in Paris, beginning to realize that a crown for a mistress is a poor exchange, is getting restless, and evidently concocting plots which would do justice to the Prince of Pilsen. The widowed Queen, between posing for photographs in weeds of mourning for a royal husband who hated her and to whom she was indifferent, and giving interviews of tears and sobs to the awe-smitten correspondent of the Associated Press, writhes at the accident of her retirement, and rages against the young Queen-Mother, Helen, who has taken her place. The three

lovely daughters of the late King continue to display their beauty in the Sunday illustrated view sections of the neswpapers, side by side with the latest chorus girls and ballet dancers. Premier Bratiano, the strong man of the kingdom, in his own conceit a Roumanian Mussolini, is dead at just the wrong moment. His brother and his advisers see with clearness, as did the late Premier before his death, that nothing could be more wholly desirable, for his own personal and party interests, as well as for the country, than to get rid of the rotten royalty which has too long infested the land like a disease. Hence all the present talk about establishing a republic. A comic opera, if there ever was one! Yet, with profound and even terrible undertones of tragedy! The little King Michael, for example, and his distraught and devoted mother! If the republican conspiracy is pulled off, anything may happen to these two unfortunates—imprisonment, exile, murder—*anything*. And the people—what of them?—the people who till the soil in poverty and ill-content? Taxed to death, whoever they are—oppressed and persecuted, if they chance to belong to either racial or religious minority groups—these are the helpless millions who today, as in all ages, have been trampled under foot by the lords and masters struggling for dominion. It is a scandal that this center of barbarism and tyranny should be tolerated in Europe. It is monstrous that this overgrown medieval nationality should be permitted longer to exercise its perpetual threat to peace and order in the world. Comic opera, yes! But it was another comic opera which wrecked us all in 1914!

Senator Borah is getting his reply. He wants the Prohibition issue thrust in to the foremost place in the 1928 federal election. It is the issue most talked about. It is the issue which every moral, political, and other consideration, even economic, most urgently demands shall be squarely met. But will it be? Listen to the issue-makers, the trained and potent politicians. They make no bones of assuring Senator Borah that he is in their estimation just the same kind of fool which they have always esteemed him to be. He is ridiculous enough to insist on reality. But they do not see him and his political philosophy that way. Perhaps they are wise in their day and generation, their day and their generation being what they are. They insist, these politicians, that to thrust forward the Prohibition issue would disrupt both of the dominant political parties. Do they not know what they are talking about? Is not their contention correct? The difference between them and Senator Borah is that he would not particularly care if that were the result, while to them the integrity of these hoary, not to say musty and putrifying, political organizations is a social issue of the first importance. And again, are not these politicians scandalously, outrageously correct? Suppose these two old decaying craft should go to pieces, what would become of our civilization politically and economically? The horror of the existing situation is that our social and even our spiritual fabric actually seems dependent for its existence on the maintenance of these ridiculously and malignantly incompetent political machines. At least for today and tomorrow we apparently cannot get along without these agencies of political corruption whose stench fills every nostril and dulls every sensibility. The national fabric is built in and around them. And they are what they are! To such a pass have we in this day brought ourselves!

Christmas comes but once a year! But once a year, therefore, do our subscribers and friends have opportunity to help UNITY by sending in subscriptions for their friends. Don't let this one annual chance slip by! Sit down *now,* and send us the name of a friend to whom UNITY shall be sent throughout 1928 as a regular subscription gift from you!

A Safe and Good World

This is the season of the year when one if ever should entertain a good-natured attitude toward the world in which he lives. It is easy to let one's mind become "Balkanized."

A SAFE WORLD. When one begins to think about it he discovers that the world is a very safe place in which to live. This fact should not deter people from taking out insurance, or cultivating the acquaintance of morticians and knowing where the morgue is located, or writing one's will (rather do it NOW)—and yet one must confess that accidents are exceptions, and that death happens, on the average, only once in 55 years. It's a safe world. Give thanks!

When one thinks of the chances of death and accident, every day, as he goes from his bed in the morning back to his bed at night—from the first tooth-brushing to the last, including possibilities at the table, on the highway, in the office and shop—in the heavens above and the earth beneath and the waters under the earth—breathing and eating and digesting—talking and listening and dodging—all involving billions of possibilities for accidents, and then remembers that only a few hundred or so of enough importance happen to attract public attention—what is it but a safe world?

Neither is it politics, nor religion, nor race that makes life safe. Life is safe in Moscow, in London,

in New York, in Shanghai, in Melbourne. The world is a safe world. Give thanks. This in spite of guns —of army and navy and police, who create fear and destroy life. The world would be safer, if we could get rid of the gunmen. That's worth planning for. The writer's opinion is that the most effective way of geting rid of the gunmen is to get rid of the gun.

But in spite of gunmen, of various names and degrees, this world is a safe place.

A GOOD WORLD. It took a long time for the writer to unlearn the early teaching that "all boys are bad." Now, he thinks, it is nearer the truth to hold that "no boys are bad." Same way with the world. Not a bad world. There is no desire here to preach the "gospel of content," but to call attention to a few facts.

So little crime. Many people are troubled about "crime wages." They needn't be troubled any more than one should be troubled over the waves of the sea. When we come to consider the billions of opportunities for misunderstandings and friction among a billion and a half of finite beings—the wonder is that we are not all plunged into chaos. In spite of police and courts, the round of human life is orderly as in the order of the heavenly bodies, each in his orbit.

So little sickness. The big army of doctors would indicate that the journey of life led only to the grave. The world, however, is not full of sickness. The reverse is true; the world is full of health. This is not Christian Science or New Thought—it is Old Fact, as old as the world. The amount of sickness—the most of this preventable and due to unwashed teeth and gorging—"enjoyed" by the average human being is nearly negligible.

So little war. One finds it hard to believe this. Of all the stupid and futile common customs of mankind is the soldier obsession. One can not make out why human beings—"made in the image of God"—get any satisfaction in going out and sticking each other in the bowels, and then call it "glory." Then, after they have done the bowel-sticking, to go back after ten years and talk it over and sing "Te Deums" and raise monuments on the spot where it was done, in order that future generations may know that the "fathers did not die in vain."

Yet, in spite of this destructive race-insanity, one must admit that this is a comparatively peaceful world. Those who are out for a crimeless, sickless, warless world have ground for rejoicing that victory is not far away. This is not said to make anyone content, or put anyone to sleep. It is to strengthen belief that the "day is dawning"—for which men of good will work and pray. SYDNEY STRONG.

Jottings

As many persons gather together in one place in India to see Mahatma Gandhi as gather together in this country to see a football game or a prize fight.

President Coolidge's expression of doubt as to the constitutionality of the Outlawry program stood him in good stead. It drew a reply from Senator Borah which taught our Chief Executive an elementary lesson in constitutional law.

'Gene Tunney is certainly a man of some culture, if newspaper reports are true. But he is primarily a man of enormous money-raising power. Why not make him a college president?

Dissensions inside the Communist Party in Russia, the ousting of Trotsky, and all the rest, are hailed by enemies of the Bolsheviki as a sure sign of weakness, and perhaps even the beginning of the end. We interpret these events quite otherwise! When the Communists begin furiously to fight among themselves, it is a sure sign, to our way of thinking, that they are no longer worrying over those terrific hazards of life and death which have kept them united for a decade. The problem of survival settled, they now have time and strength to quarrel over less vital matters.

The number of new books about Jesus is positively staggering. Whence all this sudden interest in the Nazarene? Is it possible that this age is discovering or suspecting that Jesus found a way of life that we, for all our pride and power, have somehow missed?

The New York Subway trains are all equipped with pasteboard placards reading, "This Door Not Working." Whenever a door refuses to open, this placard is put in a slot duly provided for such contingency, and passengers thus warned. This is what is called "American efficiency." The idea that there might be an efficiency which would provide that doors would open 100 percent instead of 90 per cent of the time seems never to occur to anybody. It's like the trains on our railroads. Almost invariably late—yet efficient, efficient!

J. H. H.

"Prisoners of the Lord"—In China

For days we had been looking forward to Ningsia, the last fair-sized town before we should start for the desert. When an auto broke and was only tentatively repaired, the reason was given: "We'll do all that at Ningsia." We came to look forward to Ningsia almost as a metropolis, furnished with garage, shops and all that man desires. When at last, at night, we passed under great gates and casting our flashlights upwards beheld story on story of picturesque pagoda architecture, we felt we had indeed arrived.

By day, however, Ningsia was far less remarkable. It proved to be an ordinary Chinese commercial town of some 30,000 inhabitants, which gains importance not from a storied past, or intellectual and historic attainments, but because it is the last port on the Yellow River as one goes upstream towards Thibet. From the end of the Peking-Kalgan railway, the Yellow River is navigable upstream as far as Ningsia; beyond come gorges and rapids. Here, then, or rather some ten miles out from the town, the ships unload and the carts and caravans begin, for Lanchow, capital of Kansu, for Sining, Gateway to Thibet, and for Mongolia via Alashan.

Ningsia is renowned for Chinese rugs, in which the dark blue color is most prized. It is a market also for all varieties of sheepskins, and one can buy a winter coat for prices ranging from $5.00 gold to $50.00, according to quality of the skin. The best variety, known as Thibetan wool, is very pure white and long and curly, sometimes as many as ten curls on a single strand of hair. It is exported also to America, where I understand it becomes the base for imitation monkey, chinchilla and many other furs.

Foreign wares also make their appearance in Ningsia for consumption by the back countries. Vanity cases, eau de cologne, thermos bottles remind us that there is still transport, tenuous though it be, to Peking and ports east. Side by side with the exotic shops displaying such wares are the forge fires of blacksmiths making harness or bending iron for cart and caravan service. Beyond the town, visible occasionally down its main street between the many arches, are the western mountains. A proverb says that Ningsia sunsets behind these mountains are one of the seven wonders of China.

I had been told in Sian Fu that I would find two foreign ladies in Ningsia in the China Inland Mission. So at nine o'clock on our first morning, when Borodin and several others were in the markets shopping in the last town we should visit for a month, I asked at one of the shops for a boy to conduct me to the mission. It was only a few hundred yards away, down a dusty street and in through an arch on which were painted the English words "Salvation School" together with a longer Chinese inscription.

It was thus that I met the Rev. Mr. Fiddler and his wife, of Scotch and Australian extraction but Moody Bible Institute training, and Mrs. Nystrom, a Swedish woman whose husband died some years ago here in China. Later I was also to meet the Rev. Leon Van Dyk, a Belgian Catholic priest who, though he shares with the Fiddlers the position of being the only foreigners in town, has never met his Protestant compeers.

One evening Borodin, in a philosophic mood, said that I ought to write one chapter on "Prisoners of the Lord," describing the missionaries of these distant provinces. Their life as foreigners many weeks removed from social intercourse with their kind is inevitably a very empty, and not in all respects healthy existence. Even the three Russians who had lived at this military post for only a few months as advisers to General Meng, find it very dreary, and turn for relief to long evenings of card playing or to conversations with Father Van Dyk, who has a broad fund of worldly knowledge along with his priestly task.

The Fiddlers and Mrs. Nystrom, however, have no such worldly interests. Mr. Fiddler graduated more than a quarter century ago from the Moody Bible Institute, and filled with the vision of China as a place whence four hundred million precious souls were going rapidly to hell, came out to save it. He told me, with a smile at his wife, of the girls he had been interested in during those early days in Chicago, but how he had never committed himself to any of them, "not being sure if they would be accepted for China." For the China Inland Mission, unlike most missions, does not send women to China merely as "missionaries' wives"; the wife also must qualify as missionary if she is to go; and many have been the tragic cases of men who were accepted but whose wives or fiances were not. The salary given to the man is never enough to support a family; hence, unless the wife comes also on a missionary stipend, she cannot come. Such is the discipline exacted of the China Inland volunteers.

I asked Mr. Fiddler what salary he got, and he replied that he came "on faith, not on salary." He "trusted the Lord to move those at home to support him and he never sent appeals for funds." In practice, however, he always knew three months ahead what the moneys were for that quarter, and it usually averaged $30 to $40 (Mex.) per month for each missionary. It is a small sum, small even in the eyes of Chinese of any education. Yet the Fiddlers live on it without actual penury. Their children leave home for the mission school maintained by the China Inland, and later go to America to study, also on mission funds. They themselves feel able to import a few hundred dollars' worth of foreign food from the coast once every three or four years. For the rest, they buy Chinese food, and learn the trick of close bargaining, so that Mr. Fiddler told me he could have bought for $7.50 the charming Chinese rug for which I paid $11. Five dollars gold for a two by four Chinese rug, hand woven, of exquisite blue, seemed to me little enough. The sight of the rug maker's home with half a dozen children, a wife and a mother, removed from my soul all thought of bargaining for what was evidently the work of the combined hands of a household. Yet Mr. Fiddler, if he is to survive and live in comfort, must learn to beat down prices to the ultimate in even such families as these.

Mr. Fiddler told me that the work was very hard here. He attributed part of his difficulty to the good irrigation system around Ningsia which makes the people independent of the skies for rain. "Other people trust the Old Man of Heaven, but we trust the Yellow River" they tell him. How his explanation

would delight the Atheist Society in Moscow, which claims that as soon as man gets his life on earth scientifically organized, he will have no need for religion. Certainly Mr. Fiddler's Fundamentalist religion was suffering under the shock of well-organized irrigation.

I went to his church on Sunday and found there some fifteen people, fruit of more than thirty years of labor. He told me that the bad weather had kept people away, which I can well believe, for although the day was delightful, the rain of the preceding night had made the muddy streets unsafe for walking, and two of the audience had spoiled their Sunday clothes by a fall in the mud. Mr. Fiddler did not tell me of the other congregation which split from his not long since. But he did tell of the "terrible time" he had had during the recent "Bolshevism" with two of his employees who joined the union.

He also told me how he had decided to stick it out, even against the orders of his consul and of his Mission, which had both told all Kansu foreigners to seek safety on the coast. "But we felt it was the will of the Lord for us to stay," said Mr. Fiddler, defying the Board he served. His wife, gentler and more timid, thought they should perhaps have obeyed "those set in authority over us."

But our staying did not mean that everything was easy here. No, we had terrible trouble with our servants. The union put them up to it. They wanted first of all a raise in wages (he said this with incredulous indignation) and they wanted to preach the San Min Chu I (Three People's Principles) in our church. When I refused, they gave out dodgers in the street calling me an imperialist, a Pharisee and a false prophet. I had to go to the magistrate to have it stopped.

It was an evangelist and our cook that did it. Both of them were baptized by me. When Feng came back from Moscow and the unions started, they got all kinds of wild ideas. They said they would organize a "Together Society," which meant that the Church and the Labor Unions were not divided but should act in harmony. They got a flag ready and many scrolls at quite an expense to themselves. They said that every Friday from four to six they would take our chapel for a meeting, where anyone could speak as they liked.

Of course, we said *not*. Then they said that the church was actually not ours at all but belonged to the Chinese people, and especially the Chinese Christians, of whom they were members. They held one meeting and got many people to make speeches. There were some known opium smokers who spoke in that meeting. (A touch of horror came into the Rev. Fiddler's tones.) They said they would hold a bigger meeting next Friday and when I protested, they published a leaflet against me. So I took a copy of the circular to the Yamen and they arrested the men for a hearing.

Mr. Fiddler told of the steps the Chinese magistrate had taken in clearing up this church dispute. "He first spent all the evening going around to the other city officials, showing them the circular and consulting. When he returned it was nearly midnight, but he found us waiting and called us in. He said to Liu, the evangelist: 'Tell me now, what is this gospel that you preach?' . . . 'We preach Jesus,' said Liu. . . . 'And who is Jesus?' . . . 'The Savior of the world,' answered Liu. . . . 'But you preach also the San Min Chu I,' retorted the magistrate. 'If Jesus is Saviour of the world, then what are the San Min Chu I?' According to Mr. Fiddler, Liu was too scared to answer for these were revolutionary times, when wrong interpretations of revolution were fraught with danger. The magistrate called him a humbug and said he should be in jail.

Then, calling the cook Li, the magistrate asked what work he did, and, extracting the news that Li "worked in the kitchen," proceeded to berate him for leaving his sphere and trying to preach in the chapel. Li answered: "I'm a church member. I have the right to speak in church." This appeared to the magistrate more impertinence and calling the Rev. Mr. Fiddler aside, he advised him to "pay them to the end of the month and let them go. I'll order them not to enter your house or church again."

The cook had been getting $7 a month and the evangelist $8 (both figures Mex. and feeding themselves). They asked for double wages, but compromised on $10 and $12 a month. Out of this paltry five dollars gold per month they had not only fed their families, but had even used their own money to print circulars and buy a flag, in order to promote their dream of a "Together Society" between the church and the labor unions. Did they know, I wondered, in how many parts of the world other dreamers had done the same? Or did they think themselves alone and original in their idea? Then the church they loved had suspended them and the labor unions had shortly thereafter been closed by a fiat of General Feng, who had first started them. And Mr. Fiddler told me he heard the evangelist was "a little bit touched in his mind since then." Perhaps this was mere false rumor, fruit of a church split. If it was true, the Rev. Mr. Fiddler did not sense the pathos of it. To him, thorough Fundamentalist, who had left Chicago before the days of Open Forums, the project of combining Christianity with such Bolshevik things as "labor unions" savored of blasphemy, and had nothing in common with the sacrifice which had led him in his youth to come saving souls in China.

The Fiddlers have, of course, pioneered in China. They were here during the Boxer upheaval, and Mrs. Fiddler, at that time Miss Way, was among those given up for dead. Memorial services were held for her in her home church in Australia, while she was hiding from cave to cave in the wilds of Shansi. Later in the Revolution of 1911, everything they had was smashed and looted, and later the government of the Republic wished to make recompense, but "we wouldn't accept a penny for the gospel's sake," says Mr. Fiddler, moved by I know not what line of reasoning. China remains to them what it has always been, chiefly a battle ground for souls; and her various struggles, more or less coherent, for new Nationalism, a new social order, they judge from the effect produced in martyrs or in converts.

In the Christianity and present backsliding of Feng Yu Hsiang they have of course a special interest, as he governs their territory. They told me he had given a strong, well-disciplined government. "When Feng was first appointed military head of Kansu, the men of wealth were afraid and fled, secreting their valuables. But his men came here under General Liu, singing hymns, and under perfect discipline. They are not allowed on the streets at night. The first thing they did was to clean the streets of Ningsia. Then they dug gutters and levelled the streets and made real improvements.

But when Feng came back from Moscow, he brought all sorts of Bolshevik ideas. There is no doubt that he is a backslider. We had labor unions and student trouble against us. Now, of course, all these unions are shut down. A daily paper here printed something against Chiang Kai Shek and Feng wired to suppress the paper and the unions and send the leaders to him in Honan.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

(Copyrighted, 1927)

PART IV—CHAPTER XII

European Contacts

(Continued)

In Johannesburg I had at one time as many as four Indian clerks, about whom it is difficult to say whether they were not more like my sons than clerks. But even these were not enough for my work. It was impossible to do without typewriting, which among us, if at all, only I knew. I taught it to two of them, but they never came up to the mark because of their poor English. And then one of these I wanted to train up as an accountant I could not get out any one from Natal, for no one could enter the Transvaal without permit, and for my own personal convenience, I was not prepared to ask a favor of the Permit Officer.

I was at my wits' end. Arrears were fast mounting up, so much so that it seemed impossible for me, however much I might try, to cope with professional and public work. I was quite willing to entertain a European clerk, but I was not sure to get a white man or woman to serve a colored man like me. But I decided to try. I approached a typewriter's agent whom I knew, and asked him to get me a stenographer if he could. There were girls available, and he promised to try to secure the services of one. He came across a Scotch girl called Miss Dick, who had come then fresh from Scotland. She had no objection to earn an honest livelihood, wherever available, and she was in need. So the agent sent her on to me. She immediately prepossessed me.

"Don't you mind serving under an Indian?" I asked her.

"Not at all," was her firm reply.

"What salary do you expect?"

"Would £17/10 be too much?"

"Not too much, if you will give me the work I want from you. When can you join?"

"This moment, if you please."

I was very glad and started dictating letters to her. Before very long she became more a daughter or a sister to me than a mere stenotypist. Scarcely had I reason to find fault with her work. She was often entrusted with the management of funds amounting to thousands of pounds, and she was in charge of account books. She won my complete confidence, but what was perhaps more, she confided to me her innermost thoughts and feelings. She sought my advice in the final choice of her husband, and I had the privilege to give her away in marriage. As soon as Miss Dick became Mrs. Macdonald, she had to leave me, but even after her marriage she did not fail to respond whenever under pressure I made a call upon her.

But a permanent stenotypist was now needed in her place, and I was fortunate in getting another girl. She was Miss Schlesin introduced to me by Mr. Kallenbach whom the reader will know in due course. She is at present at the head of a girls' school in the Transvaal. She was about seventeen when she came to me. Some of her idiosyncrasies were at times too much for Mr. Kallenbach and me. She had come less to work as a stenotypist than to gain experience. Color prejudice was foreign to her temperament. She seemed to mind neither age nor experience. She would not hesitate even to the point of insulting a man and telling him to his face what she thought of him. Her impetuosity often landed me in difficulties, but her open and guileless temperament removed them as soon as they were created. I have often signed without revision letters typed by her, as I considered her English to be better than mine, and had the fullest confidence in her loyalty.

Her sacrifice was great. For a considerable period she did not draw more than £6, and refused ever to receive more than £10 a month. When I urged her to take more, she would give me a scolding and say, "I am not here to draw a salary from you. I am here, because I like to work with you and I like your ideals."

She had once an occasion to take £40 from me, but she insisted on having it as a loan, and repaid the full amount last year. Her courage was equal to her sacrifice. She is one of the few women I have been privileged to come across, with character clear as crystal and courage that would shame a warrior. She is a grown up woman now. I do not quite know her mind as well as when she was with me, but my contact with this young lady will ever be for me a sacred recollection. I would therefore be false to truth if I kept back what I know about her.

She knew neither night nor day in toiling for the cause. She ventured out on errands in the darkness of the night all by herself, and angrily scouted any suggestion of an escort. Thousands of stalwart Indians looked up to her for guidance. When during the Satyagraha days almost every one of the leaders was in jail, she led the movement single-handed. She had the management of thousands, a tremendous amount of correspondence, and *Indian Opinion* in her hands, but she never wearied.

I could go on thus indefinitely writing about Miss Schlesin, but I shall conclude this chapter with citing Gokhale's estimate of her. Gokhale knew every one of my co-workers. He was pleased with many of them, and would often give his estimates of them. He gave the first place to Miss Schlesin amongst all the Indian and European co-workers. "I have rarely met with the sacrifice, the purity and the fearlessness I have seen in Miss Schlesin," said he. "Amongst your co-workers, she takes the first place in my estimation."

M. K. GANDHI.

(Translated from Navajivan by Mahadeo Desai.)

Salmon O. Levinson's Proposed Adjustment of the International Fiscal Problem

Many excellent suggestions of readjustment for the vexing questions of German reparations, allied and interallied government debts, European appeasement and peace have been made, but so far as the writer knows they deal respectively with only one phase of the European situation. Sometimes it is with the settlement and disposition of German reparations; sometimes with the resettlement or cancelation of the allied debts owing the United States; sometimes the emphasis is put upon the necessity for revising the treaty of Versailles; and, of course, many plans deal purely with the question of world peace. The central idea of this proposal is to consider all of these acute questions and problems together; in other words to handle them as is done generally speaking, in the case of a reorganization of a distressed railroad or industrial corporation. In reorganizations all interests are considered in one complete scheme of rehabilitation and adjustment. The analogy may not be complete, but it is sufficiently so for the purpose.

When every nation sees what all other nations are to receive, how it is to be treated and what the general result will be, criticism and distrust are disarmed and general confidence and harmony are attainable. This is the "open diplomacy" of reorganizations.

Settlements have been made by our government with practically all our European debtors except France, which has not ratified the agreement. This article does not discuss the wisdom of these settlements, but takes them as facts in the economic problem. However, it may not be amiss to say that the writer has never been in sympathy with the view that the great war was originally our war, that we were military partners with the allies throughout, and that our loans to them during and after the war were mere contributions to a common cause. Nor has the writer ever considered the effort to fix the "capacity to pay" of a nation over a period of sixty-two years anything short of a wild guess. But the settlements are closed incidents and we start from them as a base. Suffice it to say that the United States has been liberal in these adjustments, although we have apparently received little or no credit for generosity or even leniency.

In 1917 we entered the world war not only in good faith but enthusiastically "to end war"—that is to establish durable world peace. While we materially aided in victory for the allied cause the vision of world peace is still distant.

The purposes of the proposed plan may be summarized as follows:

1. To get a reasonable compromise in cash for the United States of the "present worth" of the debt settlements, which will furnish immediate and substantial relief to our taxpayers, who are bearing the whole brunt of the American cost of the war.

2. To have the German reparations fixed at a definite amount and paid, the amount to be financed by a world consortium of bankers in co-operation with the governments involved, so that Germany may pay adequate reparations and also be able to work out the economic salvation of her people.

3. To use the proceeds of the financed fixation of German reparations to pay all the sums needed under the proposed plan to bring about the settlement and discharge of all the allied and interallied government debts; for stabilization currencies for equitable adjustments with those European nations having specific claims to German reparations and for the necessary cost of the loan.

4. The nations involved to sign a treaty of peace, open to all other civilized nations, wherein there will be substituted for the sixty-two years of debt installment payments by our European debtors, a sixty-two-year experiment in world peace by the renunciation for that period of the use of war for the settlement of international disputes. In other words, to get also from this adjustment the ideal for which we fought in the war—the ending of war by international agreement.

5. To make such modifications of the treaty of Versailles as are compatible with the terms and purposes of this proposal.

The position taken by President Wilson that the question of allied debts should not be considered in conjunction with German reparations was sound. This view was approved and adopted by the Harding and Coolidge administrations. At the time this subject was originally broached it meant two things—first, the making of all payments by the allies to the United States conditional on the payment to them of reparations by Germany; and, secondly, and more important, the United States was asked to take, in payment of the allied debts, German "C" bonds, third mortgage bonds, all subordinated to the bonds to be given the allies. This would have put the United States in the position of military collector of reparations from Germany, in order to protect our third mortgage bonds, as we would have released the allies. The proposal herein contained is free from these objections. In fact, the plan provides a complete settlement, wherein the United States would be paid a fair "present worth" compromise of the debt settlements in cash, the reparations would be adjusted and discharged, and the whole network of allied and interallied indebtedness would be disentangled and ended.

The principal of the allied debts owing the United States was about $10,000,000,000, which, with the accumulated interest, amounted to about $12,000,000,000. By the lenient settlements made by your debt funding commission and approved by congress (including the unratified French settlement) between $6,000,000,000 and $7,000,000,000 were in effect canceled through the omission and reduction of interest over the period of sixty-two years. The "present worth" of the debts owing the United States under the settlements (that is, the present cash value an expert accountant would give them, assuming that all the installments will be paid for the sixty-two years) is, roughly, $5,000,000,000. The cancellation of $6,000,000,000 to $7,000,000,000 plus the "present worth" of about $5,000,000,000 epitomizes the present allied debt situation so far as the United States is concerned. Of course, it requires considerable optimism to believe that all these countries will continue to pay their installments to us over the sixty-two year period.

Even if the nations actually and punctually pay all their installments, the present generation of our taxpayers will get an almost negligible benefit. For under these settlements the installment payments and most of

the interest rates do not begin to be substantial until about twenty-five years from now. But it has been computed that at the present rate of progress our own $18,000,000,000 of government debt will all be paid off within twenty-five years. Therefore, the next generation that will get the benefit of the increased installment payments and interest rates will be a generation that nationally is practically free from debt. In other words, American taxpayers will get relief when they do not need relief. There is no good reason why the present generation should stand all the burden of our participation in the war. The proposed plan offers immediate and partial relief to present taxpayers and even so will accelerate by many years the day when our national war debt will be entirely paid off.

In addition to the debt settlements the United States has a claim of $250,000,000 arising out of our contribution to the army of occupation immediately following the armistice. We were to have a first lien for these advances, but for some reason or other we have not been paid so far as the writer knows, anything either on principal or interest. As the other governments contributing to the army of occupation have been paid, it seems reasonable to propose that this expense of the United States, which was incurred for the benefit of the allies, and after the war, should be repaid.

While, as above stated, the United States happily kept itself free from participation in or collection of German reparations, nevertheless, in any "reorganization" of Europe we must all agree that the center and crux are the German reparations. This is obviously true so far as any financial adjustment is concerned, and it is almost equally true with regard to European appeasement and peace. Accordingly, this plan proposes that the German reparations be fixed at the amount of $6,000,000,000 and that this amount be financed and paid in cash in a lump sum. This would supersede the present method of installment payments by Germany without knowledge or fixation of the total amout of reparations, and, as the annual payments under the Dawes plan are rapidly increasing, would obviate the danger of default and consequent serious complications. The effect of the cash settlement of the reparations would be to terminate the quasi-receivership now afflicting Germany, and she would owe $6,000,000,000 under a well-secured loan, handled by a world banking consortium working in concert with the governments involved, on a sound and economic basis. As the loan would be a first mortgage on all the national assets and revenues of Germany, the interest rate should be, say, 5½ per cent per annum, with a sinking fund of an additional 1½ per cent per annum, or at a total annual cost of 7 per cent. This sinking fund of 1½ per cent, kept alive, would, as banking tables show, automatically pay off the entire principal of the loan in about twenty-eight years.

Such a loan would, as stated, have to be undertaken by an international banking group in co-operation with the governments involved. Our American bankers would doubtless be willing to underwrite and distribute a proper and proportionate share of the loan. The financial task would of course, be colossal but far from impossible, with the momentum of public approval and consequent investment. It would indeed be a reassuring revelation if a loan of such magnitude, easily possible in wartime when loans are necessarily precarious, could be negotiated in peace time for constructive purposes, when the safety of the loan is beyond question.

Under the proposed plan the United States government would receive in cash out of the proceeds of the new German loan $4,250,000,000. The $4,000,000,000 represents the "present worth" cash compromise of the allied debt settlements. Otherwise stated, we would accept in compromise of the $5,000,000,000, which is the estimated "present worth" of the debt settlements, 80 per cent thereof in immediate cash—a discount of 20 per cent. The $250,000,000 would be repayment of the principal of our contribution to the army of occupation. The $4,000,000,000 of cash could be used immediately in reduction of our own national debt and by the time of its consummation would probably mean a reduction of 25 per cent thereof. This large reduction in our national debt, quite independently of surpluses, would justify an immediate and substantial reduction in our federal taxes. The $250,000,000 could be utilized, if so desired, by congress, in whole or in part, as an appropriation for farm relief under satisfactory legislation.

The plan also provides that there be a general cleaning up and discharge of the allied and interallied war debt all around. The United States is the only clear creditor, we having paid our way as we went along in the war. Great Britain is a creditor as to her other allies, but is a debtor to the United States in the sum of about $4,500,000,000. As a part of this proposal Great Britain would be called upon to cancel the debts owing to her by her allies—about $7,000,000,000; in turn she would receive a release from the United States as to her own debt. This, in effect, Great Britain has heretofore offered to do.

Under this proposal there would be no need of continued friction or even conference about the French debt settlement. All the debts would be settled and discharged, including France's. Disregarding the effect of the settlements, France owes us over $4,000,000,000, including $400,000,000 for materials purchased after the war, and she owes nearly $3,000,000,000 to Great Britain; Italy owes us over $2,000,000,000 and a similar amount to Great Britain; Belgium owes us $420,000,000, Roumania $45,000,000, Czechoslovakia $115,000,000, Latvia $6,000,000, Finland $9,000,000, Poland $178,000,000, Greece about $20,000,000, Esthonia $14,000,000 and Lithuania $6,000,000. And these latter countries also owe similarly large amounts to Great Britain. Thus most of the countries in Europe would have a direct financial stake in this general adjustment.

For obvious reasons the writer has left out all consideration of the Russian debts. Personally he would like to see them incorporated if it can be done without friction and therefore without endangering the proposal.

The $200,000,000 borrowed by Germany to inaugurate the Dawes plan should be paid off out of the $6,000,000,000 so that the new loan would be an absolute first mortgage on all of Germany's national property. This would leave a balance of $5,800 000,000. The payment to the United States of $4,250,000,000 would leave a balance of $1,550,000,000. This balance would be available, as far as needed, for stabilization of currencies for equitable adjustments with those European nations having specific claims to German reparations, and for the necessary cost of the loan. The

unused portion, if any, of the $1,550,000,000 to be applied in reduction of the loan.

As a part of the general appeasement the European nations involved as well as the United States are to sign a general treaty in which the use of war for the settlement of international disputes would be renounced for the next sixty-two years as an international experiment in world peace. The other civilized nations to be invited to join in this treaty so that for the period of sixty-two years the institution of war as a method of settling the disputes of the nations may be outlawed and a judicial system set up in place of the destructive war system which has brought Europe to its present plight. Thus the European nations, instead of enduring sixty-two years of "financial servitude," would enjoy sixty-two years of voluntary peace, during which time their economic rehabilitation could be effected and made secure. If toward the end of the sixty-two-year period the experiment in peace proves distasteful to the civilized nations and they hunger for military power they could revive the war system by refusing to extend the term of the peace treaty beyond the sixty-two years.

Such a treaty would make possible and desirable the provision of this plan which calls for a world conference on the reduction or armaments, both on land and sea, to signalize the general renunciation of war. For so long as the institution of war is retained by the nations as their lawful and paramount court of last resort, all hopes of disarmament are doomed to disappointment. But with war renounced for sixty-two years all obstacles to drastic disarmament would be removed, and the economic convalescence and rehabilitation of the countries of Europe would ensue by leaps and bounds.

It is obvious that in order to carry out the foregoing plan changes would have to be made in the treaty of Versailles in accordance therewith, and such other changes as may be agreed upon, in harmony with the spirit and compact of the nations to live together in amity and peace and to devote themselves to the progress and welfare of their respective peoples.

This proposal is not submitted as a finality nor as having the magic of an Aladdin's lamp. The writer will be both surprised and disappointed if many important and beneficient suggestions and amendments are not forthcoming; and he will be abundantly repaid if this proposal stimulates or aids in any way a better plan of European adjustment and peace.

Report of the Chicago Meeting of the National Federation of Religious Liberals

That the National Federation of Religious Liberals should be a means of coordinating the efforts of the different organizations for the purpose of accomplishing what they could not do individually—was the keynote of the opening remarks of the newly elected president of the National Federation of Religious Liberals, Roger S. Galer of Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, at the business meeting in Chicago on November 19. The sessions were held in cooperation with the World Unity Council and the Chicago Forum Council.

This is a critical time in the religious life of America, (said Mr. Galer). There are many ways open in which this Federation may function and I trust that we will be wise enough to discover the best and most effective ways in which that co-operation and co-ordination may be brought about. Under the efficient executive management of Dr. Reese let us all strive towards that goal of unity, harmony and co-operation which ought to be and I think is the ideal of this organization.

Mr. Galer, a former president of the Universalist General Convention, is one of the best known among the laymen of his denomination.

A vote was passed expressing hearty appreciation of the services of the retiring president, Prof. Jesse H. Holmes of Swarthmore, Pa., who had served from the organization in 1908, declining re-election because of the pressure of his college duties.

The following additional honorary vice-presidents were elected: Rev. Hugo G. Eisenlohr, Cincinnati; Jesse H. Holmes, Swarthmore, Pa.; Rev. Charles Parker Connolly, Rockford, Ill.; and Rev. W. W. W. Argow, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Profound sorrow was expressed at the tragic death of Rev. Fred V. Hawley of Chicago, killed by an auto truck three days before the opening session. "In my whole life I have never known a more kindly soul," said Rabbi Felix Levi, who was called to supply Mr. Hawley's place on the program.

The details of the meetings were in the hands of Rev. Curtis W. Reese, D. D., executive chairman of the Federation, and Rev. Fred Merrifield.

The joint session presented a program of six meetings of stirring interest, spread over Friday, Saturday and Sunday, November 18-20. Religion, abstract and applied; the relations of America to the nations of the Far East and the home problem of her duties to her own citizens of dark skin but having human hearts and aspirations; the problems of achieving unity amid diversity among liberal religious adherents; the questions of conflict of nationalism and internationalism and the needful steps toward world unity, as well as the task of the churches in striving for a better social order,—all these were discussed in stirring and thoughtful addresses.

Five races and some seven or eight religious affiliations were represented on the program, and the audiences were even more diversified. At the fellowship dinner, Friday evening at Hotel LaSalle, there were members of at least twenty-one faiths, while at the great forum meeting in Woods Theater on Sunday afternoon twenty-eight racial groups were represented.

Dr. Curtis W. Reese, executive chairman of the Federation, acted as toastmaster at the fellowship dinner, at which there was an attendance of about 100, a notable group being a table made up of Chinese students, both young men and women. John Herman Randall, formerly associate minister of the Community Church of New York, spoke on "The Spirit of the World Unity Conferences," saying in part:

The time has come when, instead of talking about co-operation, we ought to begin to co-operate. In the judgment of the most serious and astute students of world affairs, we have reached the point in human history where we have got to find our way to some kind of unity that has not yet had its existence on this planet. We have got to find our way toward a genuine understanding and appreciation and fellowship, race for race and nation for nation.

It is out of this conviction that the World Unity Conference has sprung.

When we realize that out of this country there is going a billion dollars every year into foreign investments, can any

sane man think that it makes no difference to us what happens in the rest of the world?

Some one has said, If you can give me the radius of a man's intelligence I can give you the circumference of his intolerance.

The spirit of the World Unity Conference is the spirit of those who are striving to help men and women everywhere to so revise their thinking about this world and about their relations to one another that there can be created in the hearts and minds of men this new spirit of unity in diversity, this new attitude without which the League of Nations and the World Court and all the other paraphernalia, good as they are, will never be able to lead us to world peace, world stability and world brotherhood.

Fred Atkins Moore, civic secretary of the Chicago City Club and director of the Chicago Forum Council, spoke on "The Forum as an Agency of Social Unity," first touching humorously on conditions in Chicago. "World unity, like charity, must begin at home, and until we get through with this war with England that we are fighting we have not very much to offer to China or India or any other part of the world." Another amusing local condition was the "war" which the Chicago Italians had started with the Scandinavians on account of the naming of a boulevard for Leif Ericsson, an honor conferred on the latter explorer at the instance of his compatriots, while the Italians declared that Ericsson was only a robber who had drifted over to America. Continuing, Mr. Moore said:

The open forum movement in Chicago and the Middle West has great significance in promoting social unity, or at least in overcoming some of the factors that work against such unity. These forums are conducted usually by committees representing the important racial, religious and economic groups in the community and present speakers who voice the social ideals, purposes and perplexities of their various groups. We have testimonies of many keen-minded Catholics, Protestants and Jews, of racial leaders, industrial managers and labor leaders, that the forum is one of the very few agencies that takes people out of their own groups and mind-sets and puts them into direct contact with other kinds of folks. This means a breakdown of the barriers of sectarianism and dogmatism, of partisanship and class consciousness. Hence the importance of the forum as an agency of social unity.

Dr. Reese told the story of the formation of the Federation nearly twenty years ago, when the organizers of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ had refused to admit Unitarians and Universalists. The progressive Friends and Reform Jews had united with the other Liberal bodies to form the Federation and had welcomed other groups of like aims and purposes, offering a common platform regardless of differing details.

Rev. Horace J. Bridges of Chicago spoke on "International Ethics," attacking the common misapprehension which declares that a nationalism and internationalism are antagonistic. The Marxian doctrine which is in effect anti-nationalism has been erroneously called internationalism.

A man cannot be internationalist unless he is first nationalist, and unless he recognizes the necessity of according to the other nations the same rights which he claims for the nation of which he is a citizen. The element in nationalism which must always be preserved is the differences, the unlikenesses that arise out of the different historic traditions and different environments of peoples.

If we were to have a single world state it would be possible only by cancelling the past of all groups in which humanity is organized and reducing them to one flat dead level in which we were all alike. A world in which we were all alike would be "Main Street" on a huge scale. It would be a Babbittized world, and Lord deliver us from a Babbittized world!

I plead for an international ethics which will recognize that every nation is a permanent mode of human organization, that contains values that are to be preserved; and that every man's loyalty to his nation is as much to be respected by us as we demand that others shall respect our loyalty to our own land.

The last speaker was Prof. A. Eustace Haydon of Chicago, whose topic was "Making Effective Religious Ideals." He said in part:

Man has always been able to dream, but has never known how to actualize his dream. The great prophets have usually died broken hearted. An ideal is only effective as it is actualized. The challenge to all religion today is to find a way to make your dreams real—find a way to put your programs into actuality—find a way to put your ideals into the muscles and customs of the people, or stop your foolish, empty dream.

Modern science gives us the method, the technique, for solving our problems, for making our analyses, for reorganizing the social structure so as to embody in habit, in custom, in institution our ever growing ideals. But you can only accomplish this as you stop believing that because you get enthusiastic over a dream, therefore the dream is going to be realized, and because you believe that this thing must be true, therefore the universe is on that side and that it must come out somewhere, some time right. Well, you have given the universe quite a task.

The church ought (Prof. Haydon said) to establish by large funds great research centers, so that on all these practical problems of poverty, of industrial strife, the church will know the facts and will be able to speak in regard to any problem with the authority of a scientific note and with the fullest light possible. The best minds of scientists should be concentrated upon world problems.

In closing he appealed for the use of modern scientific knowledge and methods "for the organization of human society so as to embody our progressively enlarging ideals. It is simply turning our minds away from heaven to the task of trying to make the dream come true."

The revolt against religion seems to be world-wide, (said Rev. Dr. George W. Allison, Congregational clergyman of Chicago, in his address at Saturday morning's session, on "The Future of Religion.") Political leaders in Japan, (he continued,) bewail the loss of faith in their traditional religion. The entire world of Islam is in profound ferment. Vivian T. Pomeroy has said, "Ninety per cent of the people of England are untouched by religion," and I question whether the condition is any better in this country. I question whether 25 per cent of the people in this country are actually influenced by the church. Boredom and church going are synonymous in the minds of most people.

Traditional religion, he declared, is not at home in this modern world. It is the uncompromising enemy of modern civilization.

Traditional religion and education have never lived together comfortably except when traditional religion dominated education and dictated its teaching. The mistake of traditional religion has been in undertaking to force upon the people of the present an authority that was bound in the past.

The religion that will have a future must incorporate as its basic idea a faith that is in harmony with modern civilization. Instead of beginning our religious faith with a statement, "I believe in God," why cannot that statement be, "I believe in man?"

Dr. Albert W. Palmer, for seven years pastor of the Central Union Church of Honolulu, spoke on "America and the Orient." The world, he said, has shrunk relatively in the last hundred years from the size of a football to the size of an English walnut. The Pacific is no longer a barrier, it is a means of communication. The problem of the nations bordering the Pacific is how they can live in this shrinking world in a spirit of good will. The most sinister condition, he said, is the growing spirit of intolerance in America.

The Chinese and Japanese (said Dr. Palmer, speaking from his personal contacts) are human folk like ourselves, just as capable of moral idealism, with just as fine possibilities of character as any one else.

We shall never have an effective peace as long as each nation looks merely after its own affairs.

The Hawaiian Islands are a marvelous sociological museum and ethnological laboratory where Americans and

Orientals are getting along well in a spirit of interracial good will.

Without urging any radical change in our immigration laws, Dr. Palmer hoped as a gesture of good will our laws might be redrafted so as not to cast a slur upon the Oriental and offend his sensitiveness.

Rabbi Felix Levi of Chicago, speaking on "The Price of Human Oneness," urged a recognition of the fact that the world belongs to man and not to any one race. Every human being has the biological right to live and every human group likewise has that biological right to express itself wherever it may be able to put roots into the ground. Unity does not mean uniformity. We must recognize that we can have unity in diversity. We must look upon our religions not as unvarnished and unassailable truths; they may be true for us, but they may not be true for the next man. We do not have a monopoly of wisdom, neither do we have a monopoly of truth. He condemned the utterances of certain newspapers with their policy of "Americanism at all costs," which means "America on top"—"the same thing that we used to decry when the Germans sang 'Deutschland über alles.'"

Rabbi G. George Fox, presiding at the Saturday afternoon session, deplored the social prejudice against the Jew and felt that the Liberals were not doing their part in combatting this tendency.

Rev. Charles Parker Connolly of Rockford, Ill., who spoke on "Religious Unity," is minister of a church with a unique history. Some sixty years ago a Baptist minister in Rockford began preaching what then was the new theory of evolution. His resignation was asked and given. But a loyal group among his parishioners asked him to stay in the town and organize a church in which he might have freedom of utterance. From this there sprang the Church of the Christian Union, undenominational, of which Mr. Connolly, a graduate of Union Theological Seminary and holding both Congregational and Unitarian fellowship, is the present pastor.

In his address Mr. Connolly deplored the "pitifully disorganized" state of the religious world. The simple religion of Jesus, starting "as a genial atmosphere without barriers or bonds, seeking to encompass with human benevolence all mankind," because "first Hellenized," then Romanized, Protestanized, Prussianized, Anglicized, and finally, as some one has aptly observed, Balkanized. Balkanized Christianity, a thing of insignificant divisions!

The French clock-maker who tried to make all his clocks run alike went mad. Any attempt in the name of religious unity to make minds, far more sensitive than clocks, run alike probably awaits the French clock-maker's fate.

Truthfulness, goodness and love are the irreducible minimum of religion and at the same time the unsurpassable maximum of noble human life.

Though perfect unity is now impossible, the world is challenging us for a better religious harmony and co-operation than now prevail. This is essential for many reasons, of which the most impressive are, first, to counteract the insidious materialism of the times; secondly, to resist the militaristic peril.

Denominational invitations are always the lion's sincere invitation to the lamb to accept union by the method of disintegration, assimiliation and incorporation. The lamb becomes lion and loses its identity. Premature mergers may mean intrenched intolerance.

At Saturday evening's session Dr. Robert C. Dexter, secretary of the Department of Social Relations of the American Unitarian Association, spoke on the possibilities and needs of the work of the churches toward the concrete betterment of mankind and of the definite steps on which the religious life of the world could be united at the present time. The questions of war, of race relationships, the distribution of the products of labor and the questions of sex and the family were mentioned as some of the matters in which the churches might work for social amelioration.

The German writer Hefting has said: "The church should be not like an ambulance following the army and picking up the sick and wounded; it should be like the pillar of fire by night and the pillar of cloud by day."

Rev. Frank S. C. Wicks, D. D., of Indianapolis, spoke on "The Spirit of Prague," relating his experiences at the recent congress of Free Christianity in the capital city of Czechoslovakia.

The spirit, (he said,) was that of a fine fellowship, of unity in purpose if not in thought. It began as a Babel, a confusion of tongues, but it ended as a Pentecost—we understood each other.

The Forum on Sunday afternoon, with its audience of a thousand or more, was the outstanding event of the meeting. Fred Atkins Moore, presiding, emphasized the thought that "while there are superior and inferior individuals in every race, there is no such thing as a race that is essentially superior as such to other races, or one that is essentially inferior."

Stanley High, associate secretary of the Methodist Foreign Missionary Board, just returned from a trip around the world, told of his interesting meetings with representatives of many races, among others the great Indian leader, Gandhi. He said in part:

The men of yellow, black and brown skin have taken up the job of cutting the apron strings that have bound them to the white race. They are ready to dispense with the white man. They might bow their bodies to those that employ them, but they no longer bow their spirits. The white man's chickens are coming home to roost. We have done our best to maintain the freebooter tradition. Now the booted is becoming the booter. Two-thirds of the human race, black, yellow and brown, have set their feet on a road of their own making. We shall be impotent to stop their onward march.

Mr. High told of the nationalist movement in progress in Africa, India, the Philippines and China, and asked the pointed question: "Is the new freedom to be brought about with our co-operation or at our expense?"

James Weldon Johnson, Negro poet and orator, declared that "the broken faith and cruelty of the European powers in Africa during the thirty years that preceded the Great War" led up to the five years of conflict in Europe.

If the standard of race superiority is the Einstein theory, open plumbing, a knowledge of bridge whist, the African falls down. If you make honesty, courage, truth, kindness, charity and love the standard of measurement, you may arrive at a different conclusion. . . . I have sometimes thought that the solution of what we call the Negro problem in America means the saving of the Negro's body and of white Americans' souls.

Dr. P. W. Kuo, speaking on "China Among the Nations," traced Chinese history from a hundred years ago, when she was the dominant power in Asia, until, after eighty years of intercourse with European powers, she had sunk to the level of a semi-independent state. The present revolution is her fourth attempt to regain independence—on the one hand, from the militarists and reactionaries, and, on the other, from foreign control. It is not an anti-foreign movement and is not communistic, but is an intelligent, well-organized movement for national organization and better relations with other countries. "If you can give us both love and justice," he said, "we would appreciate it; but if you cannot give us both, we would prefer that you take

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

GANDHI RELIEF FUND

The need is still urgent for gifts to this fund. People are homeless and starving in the flooded area.

Since last report (October 31) there has been received:

Mr. Joseph Marcus, Brooklyn, N. Y.....$5.00
Mr. and Mrs. H. Bosshard, Worcester, Mass..... 2.00

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY UNDER MILITARY CENSORSHIP

President Trotter of the University of West Virginia has announced that no speaker who is opposed by the Military Department, the American Legion, and the D. A. R. will be allowed to address students in university buildings. This censorship has already operated against the student Y.W.C.A.

Some months ago the Religious Work Council of the University composed of the student pastors and representatives of the student Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. considered the question of inviting Kirby Page to come to the University for a series of addresses. In this meeting it was suggested that such action would be inadvisable, due to the hostility of the Military Department of the University to speakers with such views. The Religious Work Council, therefore, refused to sponsor his coming.

Thereupon the cabinet of the student Y. W. C. A. issued an invitation to Mr. Page to appear under its auspices. Mr. Page accepted and was scheduled to speak at the university convocation on the morning of November 9th on the subject of "Intolerance," and that evening on the subject "The Meaning of the Cross."

As soon as the Y. W. C. A. announced his coming, the Military Department of the university began to organize opposition. The student officers of the R. O. T. C. (i. e., The Reserve Officers' Training Corps, the training of which is compulsory on all students for two years) soon enlisted the support of the local branches of the American Legion and the D. A. R., as well as the Ku Klux Klan. When a committee of prominent citizens representing these societies called upon President Trotter, he yielded and announced that the meetings would not be held. The Y. W. C. A. was requested to cancel the engagements.

The announcement created considerable resentment on the part of faculty members and a small element in the student body. Professor J. N. Deahl of the Department of Education went to the president and protested vigorously, saying that the university was disgraced by thus denying free speech on the campus. A local paper *The New Dominion*, assailed the action of the president in three editorials, emphatically demanding free speech on the campus.

"*The New Dominion* is frank to say that it has no sympathy with many of Kirby Page's viewpoints. But less than two weeks ago, a distinguished admiral of the United States Navy presented the cause of preparedness from the convocation platform. That the same opportunity should be refused one who believes in pacifism and the outlawing of war would be farcical if it were not tragic."

The University paper, *The Atheneum*, also took a firm editorial stand for free speech.

Soon after the Y. W. C. A. had cancelled its arrangements, two students, Roger King and Joseph Dale Stewart, took the initiative in arranging an independent student meeting off the campus. They wired Mr. Page urging him to come as their guest. He accepted. A determined effort was made by the local military-patriotic societies to prevent the meeting from being held, even off the campus. The meeting was held, however.

On November 10th Mr. Page met with the faculty forum with 75 or 100 members in attendance. In the evening he spoke at the independent meeting in the community hall, where Roger King presided and Professor Deahl introduced the speaker. The meeting was well attended. *The New Dominion* came out the following morning with a two-and-a-half column account of the address, in which they said:

"Despite rumors that Mr. Page would be subjected to heckling and abuse and efforts would be made to break up the meeting he was given the closest attention during his address, and was frequently applauded. During the open forum, questions were asked in good humor and answered in a similar spirit.

While he was in Morgantown, Mr. Page had a friendly visit with President Trotter, who was very frank in giving his reasons for cancelling the meetings. The president was quoted by *The New Dominion* as stating: "The request for cancellation was made solely because it seemed that too much turmoil had been created about it."

When Mr. Page asked the president point blank whether, if a group of students should ask for permission to bring him to the campus for a series of meetings, the president would grant such permission, the latter replied emphatically that Mr. Page would not be allowed to speak on the campus since he was opposed by the Military Department, the American Legion and the Daughters of the American Revolution. When he was reminded that Admiral Rodgers had spoken in the University convocation only two or three weeks previous on the subject of Preparedness, he replied that there was no opposition to Admiral Rodgers' coming.

The student officers of the local R. O. T. C. are boasting that they are going "to get" Miss Mary Hunter, sec-

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back a little of your love and give us a little more justice."

That liberal religion needs the introduction of more emotion and more of the elements of the heart was the plea of Rev. B. C. Carpenter, D. D., of the Peoria (Ill.) Universalist Church, speaking at the closing session, Sunday evening, on "A United Liberal Spirit." "Our new intellectualism needs to be heated, welded to the larger mass of human life. Feeling must be added to our thinking—more of the old Methodist zeal—the recovering of the original spirit of Christianity. We need a new dynamic. And it is coming as a new and potent spirit brooding over the world, in the form of a man discovering himself. It is a new impulse in religion, man becoming the savior of man, man stirring to a new sense of moral responsibility. It is a new vision of the majesty of the human soul and its power to shape our lives.

The tragedy of the world is in the fact that we have been waiting for some one to come and save us. No one comes! Nobody ever will come. God is not going to do the things we could do for ourselves. This human world will never be what it ought to be until human beings stand up and assume the responsibility of everything that is wrong in the world and say, "The fault is in us, and we must cure it." Heaven itself waits on human effort.

Man is beginning to learn the secrets of his own being and is about to obtain mastery. The enthusiasm we need will come from this new sense of the valuation of men and the declaration that God and Christ are to be found in man and in man's relation to his fellowmen. Thus faith will become immediate and vital and the result will be something more in the nature of a united Liberal spirit.

"World Peace through World Unity" was considered in the closing address, by John Herman Randall, who gave a gloomy picture of international relations. "To the minds of our most thoughtful men today," he said, "the situation of the world presents as grave an aspect as at any time since the signing of the Armistice." He quoted the writings and utterances of many prominent authors and statesmen indicating an utter lack of faith in the long continuance of peace and declared that "we are living on the brink of a volcano." The creation of a new spirit which shall make another war impossible must be the task of "education and religion, working hand in hand and side by side."

FRANK H. BURT.

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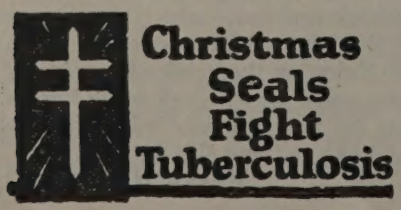
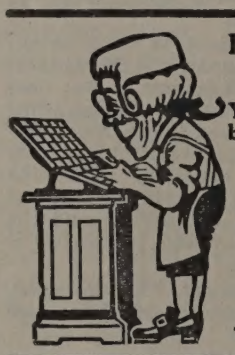
retary of the student Y. W. C. A. They say that they will secure her discharge on one count or another. They are also determined to secure the dismissal of Miss Martha Fulton, Dean of Women, who has supported Miss Hunter throughout the controversy.

A 6-page mimeographed statement entitled a "Report on Kirby Page" was widely circulated on the campus and in the town by those who had protested his coming. This document was unsigned, and no source of information was indicated; but it was rumored that the report was from the Department of Justice and the War Department. It has been discovered, however, that the entire report is copied verbatim from the *Scabbard and Blade* Special Situation Bulletin and the Daily Data Sheet of the *Key Men* of America. The former publication, issued by the national headquarters of *Scabbard and Blade,* honorary fraternity of the R. O. T. C., also gives derogatory biographical sketches of such persons as Senator Borah, President Henry Noble MacCracken of Vassar College, and President Mary E. Woolley of Holyoke College, suggesting that all such persons should be debarred from addressing college audiences on subjects relating to national defense. The bulletin purports also to expose the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. as radical agencies. The Daily Data Sheet is edited and published by Fred R. Marvin who has repeatedly stated that the recent oil scandals were invented by foes of preparedness to undermine our national defense.

Committee on Militarism in Education,
George A. Coe, Chairman,
387 Bible House, New York City.





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